



"If you do not NOW do your duty; if you do not NOW drive from you with disdain tax and tithe-eaters of every description; if you, who will have the votes, do not NOW do this, you will deserve to be burdened like asses to the end of your days, and to suffer, in all manner of ways, the effects of the hatred of those from whom the votes are withheld, and whom you will have so infamously betrayed."—LECTURE AT HULL, March 1, 1832

TO THE ELECTORS OF ENGLAND.

LETTER I.

REFORM FESTIVALS.

1. *City of London Wardmongers.*
2. *Irish Reform Bill.*
3. *My own Reform Festival.*

It is not yet settled what is to be the day on which the fellows, called "THE CORPORATION OF LONDON," mean to squander away three thousand pounds of our money, in treating and applauding the men who have brought in and passed a bill as reluctantly and as grudgingly as ever fellow went to a wedding with a halter about his neck; and who have, even in that bill, shown as great a hatred of the liberties of the people as it was possible for them to show without producing open revolt and a blowing-up of the system: the day is not yet named when these bell-wethers of the flocks of folly mean to make the display of their own vanity, gluttony, and subserviency to men in power, and at the same time, of their total disregard of the rights, liberties, and interests of the hundreds

of thousands of industrious people committed to their charge: the day is not named, when this united band of fellows, called "*Aldermen and Common-councilmen*," who have expended and are yet expending, thousands and thousands of pounds of our money, in order, by chicanery and the delays of the law, to rob the people of PORTSOKE WARD of that right of being represented in the Court of Aldermen, which their forefathers enjoyed for seven hundred years, up to these brilliant days of GALLOWAY and FIGGINS and KEY and CHARLEY and WAITHMAN; those united bands who, at the close of an election, being compelled by law to declare Mr. SCALES *duly elected*, meet afterwards and declare that he shall *not sit*; who, when he appeals to the law to make them do their duty, is met by sheer *weight of purse*, and that purse filled, not out of their own means, but out of taxes wrung from us the citizens of London, and from the people of Portsoke Ward amongst the rest: the day is not yet named, when this united crew, who thus make us pay for obtaining the means of robbing us of our rights; the day is not yet named, when this crew are to meet to squander away three thousand pounds of our money, under pretence of rejoicing at the overthrow of the miscreant boroughmongers, who, miscreants as they are, never were guilty of an act of such audacious and insolent oppression as this gluttonous crew are, at this moment, in the act of committing against us the oppressed citizens of London; for, though we know well that the infamous boroughmongers robbed the people of their rights by a mockery of elections, we never heard of the people being directly taxed for the *express purpose of paying for the robbery*, as is the case of the people of PORTSOKE WARD at this very moment, who, having elected one man to serve them in the Court of Aldermen; having elected one man by a *hundred and sixty-nine votes* against

seventy-five votes, behold the man of seventy-five votes seated, and the man of a hundred and sixty-nine votes not suffered to sit: the day is not yet named when this united gang mean to squander away three thousand pounds of our money in guttling and guzzling with GREY and BROUGHAM and MELBOURNE, and the rest of them (who, as all the world knows, have passed, even this bill, with the greatest reluctance), and in feasting all the bands of pensioners and placemen that can be mustered up for the occasion: the day is not yet named when these united crews are to meet and congratulate each other on the hitherto success of their efforts to convert the city of London into a group of wards, far more rotten than even GATTON or OLD SARUM: the day is not yet named for the feasting of this crew, who are expending our money to rob the people of PORT-SOKEN WARD of their rights, for these two reasons especially; FIRST, because Mr. SCALES defeated their intended magnificent job for the SLAUGHTERING OF CATTLE BY STEAM, which was to have cost us sixty thousand pounds, and for the "plans" and the printings relative to which we actually paid eight hundred pounds; and SECOND, because, when Mr. SCALES was Common-councilman, and when a motion was made in the Common-council, to petition for parliamentary reform, Mr. SCALES moved as an amendment, "That it would be highly inconsistent in this Court to agree to any such petition until it had reformed itself, seeing that it was now less enlightened and far more corrupt than the House of Commons;" a truth more clear or more notorious than which, never came from the pen or lips of mortal man: the day is not yet fixed, I say, when this crew, who expended twenty-six thousand pounds of our money in feasting WELINGTON and the DESPOTS, are to expend three thousand pounds more of our money in feasting the men who have given us a Bourbon-police with swords at their girdles, who, in time of peace, have raised the standing army to the war-standard, who are, at this very moment,

proposing what they call a *Reform Bill*, which is manifestly intended in every part of its provisions to narrow, instead of extending, the suffrage of Ireland, and to make that country (containing about a third part of the population of the whole kingdom) infinitely worse represented than it was before: the day is not yet fixed when this crew are to spend our money in what they call "*celebrating the triumph of the cause of reform.*"

But throughout the country pretty generally there are to be rejoicings; and I will, by-and-by, state the manner in which I shall testify *my joy* upon the occasion. I rejoice, not because we have our rights, for the Reform Bill gives us, in fact, only *a part* of those rights. I rejoice in the triumph of the principle of reform, and in the demolition of the rotten boroughs, though it is clearly intended to make others in their stead; an intention, however, which will be blown to air before there will be a chance of carrying it into effect. I see in this Reform Bill, regarding the Boundary Bill as a part of it, every thing that is given up to the people, given up as a man would give up drops of blood from his heart; I see in it, at every turn, the foulest partiality towards the aristocracy and the church; I see, running through the whole of it, a series of endeavours to prevent the working-people from having the smallest chance of possessing influence in elections; endeavours, as anxious, as persevering, as spiteful, and as malignant, as if the working-people, who create every thing, were so many devouring wolves or poisonous reptiles. Why then did I wish this bill *to be carried*? Because one of two things would be the consequence: it would produce that change in the manner of governing the country which is absolutely necessary to be produced; or, failing in that, it would give the nation some vantage ground to stand on in order to work out its freedom and salvation.

But, let it always be borne in mind, that by the word REFORM, we always meant reform for SCOTLAND and IRELAND as well as ENGLAND, both of which have, heretofore, been far worse

treated, in this respect, than we have been. My readers will do me the justice to remember the numerous cases in which I have said, "by the word *England*, I mean *Scotland* and *Ireland* also;" and, in this case particularly, I have, over and over again, said, that I must consider all the bills as one enactment, and act with regard to them accordingly. Now, the Scotch Reform Bill by no means does full justice to Scotland. This is not the place to enter into details upon the subject; but the Scotch bill still leaves the working people of that country wholly stripped of the means of self-defence. By applying the rent standard of England to Scotland monstrous injustice is done to Scotland. But, it is with regard to *Ireland* that the atrocious and insolent injustice appears to be intended to be done; and, if that injustice be done, I will not even stop to *try this reform*, before I exert every power of my body and my mind to *effect a further reform*; for, if this injustice be done to Ireland; if Ireland be, openly and without any disguise, still to remain the absolute slave of the boroughmongers, it would be base in me to pretend to believe that it would be right to wait to give this reform a trial. The Irish Reform Bill, as brought in by STANLEY, is like STANLEY himself, presumptuous, insulting, and offensive to the very senses; and, it will, if persevered in, produce every evil, naturally to be expected from the resentment of a most unjustly treated and most grossly insulted people.

I beg my readers to pay particular attention to this matter. They have always observed me anxiously labouring to convince them of the importance of Ireland. If Ireland were like a Swiss canton; if it were like NOVA SCOTIA or CANADA, on which so many millions of our money are thrown away; if it were like either of these, then this contemptuous treatment of it might be a matter of less moment. It is like no such thing: it is a country with a population half as great as that of England and Wales: it is a country of immense production; of lands fertile in corn and in cattle; it is a country of great trade;

and it is a country that must and will be treated in the same manner as England is treated; or it is a country that will keep England, and most justly keep England, in a state of constant turmoil, ruin, and misery. Almost as soon as the present Ministers came into power, we saw *an augmentation of the standing army take place*, and every man of sense felt indignant accordingly. What! were we not burdened sufficiently already? "Oh, but *look at Ireland!* Look at the situation of Ireland!" Well; here was another million, or, perhaps, two millions, added to the expenses of the year, only because Ireland was not treated in the same manner as England was. The standing army altogether costs about ten millions a year, exclusive of the dead weight. One-half of the whole of this expense is incurred to make the Irish people submit to a government more oppressive than that which exists in England. And are we now to *rejoice* at the "*triumph of reform*," when this reform, taken altogether, will make more manifest than ever the design to make a clear distinction between Englishmen and Irishmen? the design, the deliberate contrivance, for keeping the latter in a state of abject subjection by means of the purses and arms of the former! Are we to *rejoice* at this? It is natural enough for the guttlers and guzzlers of that combined crew who make use of the purses of the citizens of London to oppress and degrade their brethren of PORTSMOUTH WARD; it is perfectly natural in this crew to celebrate a reform, resembling that of which they are giving us such a very pretty specimen; it is perfectly natural in them to exult in this new mark of degradation inflicted on our brethren in Ireland; but it would be unnatural and monstrous in any other body of persons calling themselves Englishmen or Scotchmen.

It was only last night, 13th June, that the Tories joined the Whigs most cordially in preventing the success of Mr. O'Connell's exertions to amend the bill for Ireland, brought in by the hated STANLEY, of whom and of whose conduct Mr. O'Connell is re-

ported to have spoken in the following terms:—"To whom had the task of bringing forward the Irish Reform Bill been entrusted? The English Reform Bill had been brought in by an Englishman—the Scotch Reform Bill had been brought in by a Scotchman—but the Irish Reform Bill had not been brought in by an Irishman. It had been entrusted to the charge of a person in whom no party in the empire had confidence—to the right honourable Gentleman opposite had been fitly entrusted a measure which was calculated to destroy the independence of Ireland. Wise and political statesmen were the present members of his Majesty's Government! They wished to tranquillize Ireland; and how do they attempt to achieve that object? By committing towards that country an act of the grossest injustice. That act he would strenuously oppose; and although the right honourable Gentleman might defeat him in that House, the people of Ireland would defeat that right honourable Gentleman elsewhere. They would commit no violence—they would not infringe any law—they would take up no arms—they would engage in no processions; but if the whole constitution were not previously destroyed—if one rag of the constitution were left, on that they would stand, and defeat the attempt to enslave them."

Upon this occasion the base and treacherous *reporter* has had recourse to his old trick; namely, of publishing monstrous *fool-lies* under the name of "*Hunt*." he now tells us, that this "*Hunt*" uttered upon this occasion the following words: "he recalled to the remembrance of the Irish members, the conduct they had pursued towards him when he was supporting principles the same as those which they now supported. When he had asked for an extension of suffrage, not one of them had stood by him, though he had said then that the Ministerial measure of reform would not satisfy the people of England, as they now said that the Irish Reform Bill would

not satisfy the people of Ireland. When he said this, he was told that he was no reformer, and that he wished to impede the progress of the Reform Bill." Now, as to this "*Hunt*," I know nothing, nor do I care anything; but I well remember what this base *reporter* did in those days, when people called him the "*LIAR*," *par excellence*. I well remember that. I very well remember all his lies about "re-actions," and about the people's "*coolness*" in the cause of reform; and I well remember, that most people believed that he had sold himself to the Tories; and, for my own part, I had not the smallest doubt, that all his new suits of clothes were bought by the Tories; and that he was kept by them as much as my horse is kept by me; and that WETHERELL and PEEL looked upon him as an animal that it was necessary to feed and to groom, in order that he might be able to do their work in this paragraph-grinding way, just as they would have fed and have groomed a stupid old rip that goes in a bark-mill. This *reporter* tells the Irish members, that they ought to have supported him, when he was asking for England what they are now asking for Ireland. Stupid wretch, they are not asking for what you, in your filthy paragraphs, used to be asking. You used to be asking for *universal suffrage*, because you knew that was the way to get nothing; and they seeing that you were a tool of the Tories, despised your lying and base publications. They, like men of sense and virtue, were for getting something.

You, stupid and lying *reporter*, pretend, that there is inconsistency in them, in not being satisfied with the Irish Bill, though they were satisfied with the English bill! Why, you worse than a "*new-negro*," they expressly say, that they are not satisfied with the Irish bill, because it is not like the English bill. There is one favour that I have to ask of Dr. Black; and that is, that he would let me see you with my own eyes. I am sure your colour corresponds with the Doctor's name. I am sure that you are a black; and not

very *shining* one either; but one of those dingy devils whose skin in point of colour resembles a soldier's shoe that has been *blackened by contract*. It is not fair for the Doctor to keep you out of sight, and to suffer you to annoy us in this way. You say, that, when you were brawling about universal suffrage and re-actions, you were told, that you wished "to impede the progress of the Reform Bill!" The devil you were! So, these dunderheaded Irish members thought that the Tories being told, that the people of England were indifferent to the Reform Bill; that the Reform Bill would not satisfy the people of England; that there was a great re-action relative to the Reform Bill; that the bill might be rejected without producing any discontent amongst the people; the dunderheaded Irish members thought your everlastingly repeating these lies, was a sign that you "*wished to impede the progress of the Reform Bill!*" Oh! what simpletons they must have been! Stupid beast: dost thou not see, that every one must perceive, that if the Irish members had sold themselves to the Tories, as you manifestly did yourself, and "*stood by you,*" as you call it, there would have been NO REFORM-BILL AT ALL; that the fifty-six rotten boroughs would still have been in existence; that Blackburn and Bolton and Manchester and Oldham and Ashton and Stockport and Rochdale, and all the working millions of Yorkshire, and of the Midland, would still have been without the possibility of a chance of having any more than so many flies, an influence in the choosing of members of Parliament? The Irish members did not sell themselves to the Tories: we have to thank several of them, and particularly Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. SHEIL and Mr. GRATTAN, for the part that they acted with regard to the English bill; and the corporation of London, instead of at this time being engaged in preparing benches and tables for the guzzling and the gormandizing, ought to be engaged in rousing the whole of this metropolis and its vicinity to send up petitions and remonstrances against this unjust and insolent bill of

the insolent STANLEY. The words ought to be in the mouth of every Englishman: "*I will not receive with any expression of joy that right which is withheld from the people of Ireland!*"

It is a curious thing, and eminently entitled to our attention, because it is an indication of what is to take place for the future: it is a curious thing, to see the Tories cordially joining the Whigs in this case; to see CROKER and STANLEY chuckling together, like a German frow and her paramour grinning through a horse-collar! It must be an excellent Reform Bill, that CROKER so cordially approves of; and Stanley must be a fine minister for Ireland to be honoured with CROKER's praises of his conduct. Here, as clear as day-light, we have a view of the intended game for the future, which, in two words, is this: the Whigs are to support and carry on the present system of taxes, tithes, standing-army, Bourbon-police, and all the rest of it; and, in all this they are to be supported by the Tories, together with all the POLITICAL UNIONS, the leaders of which they can get into their pay! This is manifestly the scheme; and it is for those in whom the right of voting will be, to defeat this at once stupid and tyrannical scheme. The factions have, indeed, a committee sitting, with matches some, and others, with fire brands, in their hands! There is the *magazine*! There it is, of immense magnitude, and consisting of combustibles of prodigious force. *There it is!* One touch from a match, or a brand, blows into the air all the schemes of Whigs and Tories; sends the LIAR to be the BEAR in the Zodiac, makes a GEMINI of STANLEY and CROKER, converts little HOBHOUSE into the CRAB, and sends some one of the GERMAN FROW, in the character of VIRGO, to cry "*Py-a-proom*" in the celestial regions. In plain English, there is the *Debt*; with that *Debt* something must be done; do what they will with it, unless they adopt my propositions, they blow the thing into the air. If they do nothing, the nation will go on sinking lower and lower in misery; discontent will



daily increase; the people will demand a further reform; they now know the means which they have to employ in order to obtain it: if they be driven to employ those means, the thing explodes in *that way*. So that the GEMINI, the *Siamese* youths, CROKER and STANLEY, by remaining stuck together, will only secure an identity in political destruction. I cannot dismiss this part of my subject without expressing my pleasure at observing, that both the NATIONAL *Political Unions* in London have presented petitions to the House of Commons in support of the efforts which Mr. O'Connell is making in behalf of his country. The same will, I hope, be done at BIRMINGHAM: I am sure it will at MANCHESTER; and I think this duty will be neglected in no town in England, excepting *this city*, where we have, hitherto, at any rate, suffered ourselves to be led by the odious oppressors of the people of PORTSOKEN WARD.

I shall, by-and-by, have to speak of the precautions which electors ought to take at the forthcoming elections, in order to secure proper persons to represent them in Parliament, that we may not be cheated out of the fruit of our exertions, as the brave people of France have been cheated out of theirs. But, before I come to this matter, I must speak of the manner in which *I myself propose to keep the reform-festival*. This is a matter of no slight importance, if duly considered. As a pretext for spending the people's money on guttling and guzzling, it is despicable. It is unworthy of any reformers, except those who have made such a glorious reformation in PORTSOKEN WARD, and the only appropriate judgment upon them for which would be, that they should go forth, from their gormandizing and guzzling kennel, "*lepers white as snow*," which, by none of us that know them, would be mistaken for a mark of their purity; for we, all of us well knowing that they are taking the money from our pockets, and employing it for the purpose of inflicting ruin on one of the ablest and most public-spirited of all our fellow-citizens. No: I shall not

wait for our "CHARLEY" and AUGUSTUS FIGGINS the printers'-tinker, and the projector for slaughtering cattle by steam, and the "*Church-and-King*" reforming Lord Mayor; I shall not wait for these to tell me when or how to express my satisfaction. I shall choose my own time, my own place, and my own manner; and these will be as follows:

I have always been of opinion that we owe the Reform Bill more to the COUNTRY LABOURERS than to all the rest of the nation put together; because if they had remained quiet under their sufferings; if they had not resolved not to be reduced to potatoes, and if they had not acted *as they did*, in order to preserve themselves from this state of horrible degradation, WELLINGTON would not have been turned out, GREY would not have come in, the Parliament would have acted upon WELLINGTON's insolent declaration, and we should have had no Reform Bill at all; though, in time, we must have had a terrible and violent revolution. Every man, therefore, who really wishes for the settlement of our difficulties to terminate in peace, must feel gratitude towards these country labourers. I feel this gratitude in a peculiar degree; because, taking England throughout, I know more of their toils, their sufferings, and their virtues, than any other man. I therefore shall spend my day of triumph amongst them; and for the reasons that I am about to give, I shall do it in Hampshire, and in a hamlet called SURTON SCOTNEY, which is in the parish of WONSTON, and which is situate at about seven miles from WINCHESTER, seven miles from STOCKBRIDGE, seven miles from ANDOVER, seven miles from WHITCHURCH, twelve miles from BASINGSTOKE, fourteen miles from ODIHAM, twelve miles from ALTON, and seven miles from ARLESFORD. And which little hamlet is on the road from London to Salisbury, going through Basingstoke and Stockbridge. At SURTON SCOTNEY the labourers of ten parishes met, when they sallied forth in November 1830, to remonstrate with the farmers, the parsons, and the land-

owners, with regard to the wages that had reduced them to a state of half-starvation. But this spot is more dear to me, and it ought to be dear to every Englishman, for a reason other than this. It was at this spot that was signed, that *petition for parliamentary reform*, which the labourer, JOSEPH MASON, carried to the King, at Brighton, in the month of October 1830, the interesting circumstances relating to which, are as follows.

The general notion in London has been, that the country labourers are ignorant creatures; that they have no sentiment at all relative to political rights and liberties; that, like cattle, they know when they are hungry, and that their rising and committing acts of violence, resemble, in point of motive, the feelings which animate cows, or oxen, when they break out of a barren field to get into a rich pasture. Such, too, are the opinions which our Ministers and members of Parliament have entertained towards these producers of the food and the wool and the wood of the country. Proceeding upon these opinions, they have adopted schools without number, and the distribution of millions of pamphlets, the main object of all which has been, to persuade the labourers, that God never intended anything but potatoes for them to eat, and, that it is grievously sinful in them not to be content with such diet, though they see the fields and the meadows covered with corn and with cattle, created by their own labour. It has also been fashionable, amongst even the working classes, to look upon the country labourers, particularly those here in the South, as being totally ignorant with regard to public matters, and as being utterly unable to be made to understand anything about the political causes of their misery; and of course not knowing the least in the world about Parliamentary Reform.

Such opinions were never entertained by me for any one moment of my life. From my childhood, have known the country labourers well; and, in conversation as well as in writing, I have always maintained, that they well under-

stood the *nature of their wrongs*, and the *causes of their misery*; and that the day would come, when they would endure that misery no longer. Now, then, for the circumstances connected with this petition, which I have spoken of above.

In the month of September, or early in October, 1830, when scarcely a petition had recently been sent up for *parliamentary reform*, the labourers of the parishes of WONSTON, BULLINGTON, and BARTON STACEY (the whole three containing a population less than one thousand five hundred souls) met at the hamlet of SUTTON SCOTNEY, where they agreed to a *petition to the King*, and subscribed two or three pence a piece, to pay the expenses of a man to carry it and present it to the King at BRIGHTON, where the King then was. The man chosen to go on foot this distance of *sixty miles*, was JOSEPH MASON, of BULLINGTON, of whom I shall have to say a good deal by-and-by. The following, word for word and letter for letter, is a copy of this memorable petition, with a copy of the names of all those who signed it.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the undersigned persons, belonging to the working and labouring classes of the parishes of Wonston, Barton Stacey, and Bullington, near Winchester, together assembled within their respective parishes,

Showeth,

That, ready and proud to acknowledge your Majesty our lawful Sovereign, we are willing to pay every respect and submission so far as reason and justice dictate, flattering ourselves that this is all your Majesty expects or demands.

That, Kings and Government were instituted for the happiness, welfare, and for the better regulating civil society; to protect the weak against the strong, the rich against the poor, the poor against the unjust encroachments of the rich, in short, to watch over and protect the welfare and happiness of the people, and this we doubt not will be your Majesty's endeavour, so long as your Majesty sway the royal sceptre.

That, relying on this, and availing ourselves of the liberty the laws of our country afford

us, namely, that of "petitioning the King," we humbly implore your Majesty to cast an eye of pity to the misery and wretchedness that at this moment pervade every part of this country, and of which your Majesty's petitioners have their full share. That many of us have not food sufficient to satisfy our hunger; our drink is chiefly the crystal element; we have not clothes to hide the nakedness of ourselves, our wives, and our children, nor fuel wherewith to warm us; while at the same time our barns are filled with corn, our garuens with wool, our pastures abound with cattle, and our land yields us an abundance of wood and coal; all of which display the wisdom, the kindness, and mercy of a great Creator on the one hand, and the cruelty, the injustice, and the depravity of his creatures on the other. Nearly to this state of misery have your Majesty's humble petitioners long lived, anxiously looking forward for better days; but to our great sorrow and disappointment, we find oppression daily press heavier and heavier on our shoulders, till at length we are driven to the brink of despair. This misery and wretchedness does not proceed from any fault on the part of your Majesty's petitioners, as we use every exertion in our power to subdue those bitter evils; but experience tells us that "all is vain." Some of your Majesty's wealthy subjects impute this prevailing depression to an "over-population," which we positively deny, seeing there is an abundance for the lowest of your Majesty's subjects, if possessed of the ability to purchase. But your Majesty's petitioners more reasonably and justly impute it to a misapplication of the produce of talent and industry; and this proceeds from a misrepresentation in the Commons House of Parliament.

That not one of your Majesty's petitioners have ever been allowed to exercise his right of voting at an election; that right, by the present system, being confined to the rich; in consequence of which, men have been returned to serve in Parliament in whom the people have no confidence; who consult not the people's welfare and happiness, but have entered into unnecessary and unjust wars, to defray the expenses of such wars, and other useless purposes, have laid and are still laying on us, without our consent, an immense weight of taxes, directly contrary to the law of the land, which says, "that money shall not be taken out of the

pockets of the people in the shape of taxes without their consent, or the consent of their representatives." Such is the language of the supreme law of the land, and is as binding upon every branch of the Government, as the common law is on the subject: and though now we are at the distance of sixteen years from war, the taxes continue but little abated.

That, in consequence of this misrepresentation in the Commons or People's House of Parliament, we have to complain that upwards of 50,000,000*l.* annually are extorted from that part of Great Britain called England, and of which sum the middle and labouring classes pay the greatest part; whilst the Government of the United States of America cost the 12,000,000 of people they govern not so many thousands, in consequence of which the people so governed, live in the greatest state of ease and happiness. We complain that this tax lie most heavy on those articles which are the necessaries of the poor man's life; such as malt, hops, tea, sugar, tobacco, soap, candles, &c. &c.: which cause the price of those articles to be twice their real value; that our wages at this time are not more than nine shilling a-week, (at Barton Stacey but eight shillings) out of which we have to pay, one shilling for the rent of our house, and one for fuel, leaving but seven shillings per week, or one shilling per day for the support of a man, his wife, and three children. That at this time the tax on a bushel of malt, or a pound of tea, amount to as much as the labouring man's wages do in two days and a half. We complain that part of the money extorted from us go to pay the interest of a debt, part of which was contracted by the unnecessary wars, and a part by our fathers' fathers' great grandfathers. We complain that another part of the fruit of our labours go to pay grants, pensions, sinecures, &c. &c., wantonly heaped on the heads of the aristocracy and their relations, whose names are known only by the vast sums they receive and who has never rendered the country any service whatever. We complain that (according to the statement of Sir James Graham) 113 of his late Majesty's Privy Councillors receive amongst them 650,000*l.* per annum, some of whom are members of the Commons House of Parliament, this being contrary to Magna Charta, which says, "That no person who has an office, or place of profit under

King, or who receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons." We complain that notwithstanding a peace of sixteen years, we have a standing army of nearly 100,000 men, fed and clothed out of the fruit of our labour; part of which force is kept to compel us to pay the dreadful burdens heaped on our shoulders; we complain that, among this force, is twice as many officers as is necessary, such as generals, admirals, colonels, captains, &c., who receive immense salaries, and who, chiefly, are in some way or other related to the aristocracy; we complain that we never had a voice in the legislature, though, by the law, we are all liable to serve as soldiers, and shed our blood in the defence of our country, in any war the legislature please to engage; we complain, that that property, commonly called church-property, is applied to very bad and useless purposes, purposes which have no concern whatever with religion; that whilst many poor clergy have scarce enough to maintain the dignity of their calling, others have four, five, six, and seven livings and places of profit; and whilst some of the bishops have revenues amounting to from ten to thirty, thirty-five, and 40,000*l.* annually; that notwithstanding these immense revenues, the bishops, and other rich men in the church, are often calling on us to "subscribe liberally" towards funds for erecting and enlarging churches and chapels, and for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. As to the uselessness of this church-property, we would cite one instance; that in this parish of Barton Stacey, the great-tithes, which in most part are sold from the church, are worth nearly 1,000*l.* per annum, the small tithes 450*l.*, and which belong to the Dean of Winchester. A curate is hired for about 100*l.* per annum, and who does duty twice on every Sabbath day; that the 1,350*l.* between the money collected and the curate's salary has no more concern with religion than the sturdy ox has with the petty affairs of the bees; nearly half as much as all the labourers in the parish earn, and which is as much loss to the parish as though taken and thrown into the sea; we complain that trial by jury, so highly valued by our ancestors as to be deemed almost sacred, has been, in many cases, abolished from our courts of justice, placing it in the power of magistrates to imprison and otherwise punish us, and who are chiefly members of the aris-

tocracy, officers under the crown, or clergy of the established church, who, notwithstanding, live on the fruit of our labour, often insult and haughtily treat us; so that Sir John Pollen, who is the present member for Andover, in the vicinity of which town we live, and a magistrate, did, at a meeting in that town, call us "poor devils;" and who, he said, "had hardly a rag to cover them." We complain, that, notwithstanding the misery and half-starvation to which we are reduced, the law, under severe imprisonment and heavy fine, forbids us to take for our own use the wild birds and animals that inhabit the woods and fields, or the fish that swim in the water; those being kept not for the service, but for the sports of the rich.

That this unnatural state of things, this misery, this wretchedness, this woe, this degradation, this want, this half-starvation in a land of plenty, proceed from a misrepresentation in that which ought to be the Commons House of Parliament, the members of which are returned by the rich, contrary to the will of the people. That at the election for this county, held at Winchester in August last, one of the members was returned against the will of nineteen-twentieths of the county; a person in whom we have no confidence; who has, in all cases of importance to the poor, voted on the side of oppression, and who was obliged to leave the place of election in disguise for fear of the just-enraged people who had assembled.

Having now laid our sufferings before your Majesty, and the fountain from whence they spring, we humbly implore and earnestly pray your Majesty to exercise your royal authority, so far as to cause a radical reform in the Commons House of Parliament. Many projects have been made to this effect, even by some of its members, but on a principle calculated to yield us but little or no redress, showing partiality, and which has been proceeded on with such coldness as to denote insincerity on the part of its projector. The mode of reform (sweet word) which your Majesty's humble petitioners would recommend as highly beneficial to the country at large, and to which no honest, fair, and upright man can object, is that of *annual Parliaments*, *universal suffrage*, and *vote by ballot*, but above all we prize the ballot. Till this takes place, we, your Majesty's humblest of petitioners, can never have the full enjoyment of our

hard-earned little; not daring to look forward for better days, for the least alleviation of our miseries, or for the enjoyment of those blessings which a merciful God has in profusion thrown round about us.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

WONSTON.

Enos Diddams
 Andrew Diddams
 William Snow
 Jacob Bay
 George Diddams
 Henry Wooderson
 John Wheeler
 John Mills
 John Wigmore
 Samuel Leach
 John Hoar
 George Berriman
 Thomas Taylor
 Edward William Hoar
 William Taylor
 Richard Pike
 Charles Lester
 Charles Leach
 John Berriman
 Joseph Groves
 William Ramble
 William Lewis
 William Ralph
 William Norris
 William Pearce
 William Fisher
 Thomas Newman
 Joseph Newman
 Thomas Wheeler
 John Renolds
 James Whicher
 George Gamester
 Michael Chives
 Richard Dollery
 Nathaniel Newman
 James Taylor
 Charles Collis
 William Monday
 Henry Pitter
 John Lewis
 Charles Goodfellow
 Robert Groves
 James Groves, jun.
 Joseph Carter
 James Leach

Charles Leach
 John Romble
 Charles Marks
 William Rudun
 Charles Newman
 Stephen Newman
 John Pearce
 James Wits
 Thomas Butcher
 Thomas Stock
 John Newman
 George Newman
 George Judd
 Richard Ventham
 Edward Tarrant
 Thomas Judd
 Charles Diddams
 Henry Taylor
 Peter Mason
 William Rye
 George Ball
 John Smith
 John Hopgood
 William Goodall
 Thomas Self
 Thomas Stub
 William Jones
 John Tomkins

BULLINGTON.

Robert Mason
 Thomas Malt
 James Pierce
 William Gerome
 James Tribbeck
 James Ray
 Stephen Grist
 George Hatcher
 William Perry
 Thomas Dudman
 James Clifford
 Stephen Grist, jun.
 William Scarlet
 George Ford
 Daniel Rudwic
 George Clifford
 William Brown
 Jacob White
 Richard Ventham
 William Dudman
 Francis Ray
 William Goodal
 George Goodal
 James Taylor

Charles Taylor
Stephen Maton
John Silcock
Joseph Silcock
Joseph Diddams
John Bastin
John Wheeler
George Wheeler
Peter Wheeler
Richard Withers
Thomas Baverstock
Emanuel Baverstock
Ambrose Courtney
John Courtney
John Sackley
Joseph Mason
William Taylor
William Sackley
Edmund Sackley
Samuel Sackley
James Maton
Henry Benham
Henry Knoles
Philip Parsons
Charles Anhal
James Tarrant
James Allen
Charles Perry

BARTON STACEY.

James Diddams
Charles Blackman
Thomas Tatmage
Henry Hunt
Robert Anthony
Thomas Beryman
John Dore
Charles Stubs
James Ball
John Joyne
Joseph Beryman
William Renolds
William Mills
John Mackmaster
Nathaniel Pantou
George Dazel
John Pane
William Peopal
James Wield
George Cannon
Isaac Farmer
James Wheeler
William Garger
Thomas Pitters

Thomas Annal
George Guyatt
Robert Elliott
James Ball
James Antony
John Adams
James Pantou
Benjamin Caselman
William Lack
Thomas Beryman, jun.
Richard Mills
William Roe
Anthony Antony
Edward Antony
David Cosetman
Robert Hays
Charles Hutchener
James Rolf
Charles Davis
Henry Bugis
Daniel Diddams
Charles Ball
William Pane
John Pane
George Pane
John Guyatt
John Carter

May God speed your petition.

Mr. Thomas Alexander
Mr. James Prictow

When JOSEPH MASON arrived at Brighton, he went to the residence of the King, expecting, and justly expecting, to exercise his right "to petition the King!" In this only he was in error; that is, thinking the right existed, and was something real and not a sham. Instead of being permitted to petition the King, he was told, that which is contained in the following copy of a note sent to him by HERBERT TAYLOR, to help pay whose enormous salaries he had been working all his life-time.

Pavilion, Brighton, October, 21, 1830.

SIR,—I have received your letter of yesterday, inclosing the petition which you have been deputed by certain persons belonging to the working and labouring classes of the parishes of Wouston, Barton Stacey, and Bullington, near Winchester, to present to the King, and I beg to acquaint you, for the infor-

mation of those who have signed this petition, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the proper and official channel of such communications to his Majesty. I therefore return the petition to you, and I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. TAYLOR.

Mr. Joseph Mason, Bullington, Hants.

To come to London, and then to go home, was another hundred and twenty miles, or thereabouts. He, therefore, went to a gentleman at Brighton, whom he knew to have been born and brought up at WINCHESTER, gave him the petition, and the insolent note of HERBERT TAYLOR, in order that the former might be sent to the Secretary of State. This gentleman sent the two papers to his brother, who lives in London, and he brought the papers to me, to know how *he was to get them to PERL*. After looking at the papers, and hearing the whole story, I said, "Give me the petition: let it not be disgraced by being hawked about in that manner: a time will yet come when Englishmen may petition something other than HERBERT TAYLOR and PERL." When Joseph Mason was drawing up this sensible petition, and when he was tramping a hundred and twenty miles on the business of presenting it, he little thought of that condemnation to death, and that transportation and slavery for life, to which he was to be sentenced in about two months from the day on which he presented himself at the palace of "the King's *most excellent* Majesty" at Brighton! He little thought, that being one of a crowd who extorted a few shillings from a farmer or a parson, and of which he neither extorted nor took any part, would be to commit an act of "*highway robbery*," for which he should be dragged from his wife and child, condemned to death, and sent into slavery for life! Such, however, was the result; and the Englishman who can hear the story without feeling his heart swell, and feeling the blood boiling in his veins, deserves to perish from hunger, and to be food for the fowls of the air.

In about a month after JOSEPH MASON'S failure to get his petition to the hands of "His *most excellent* Majesty," those risings for increase of wages, which had begun in EAST-KENT, had extended themselves into HAMPSHIRE, and they finally reached the parishes, in about the centre of which lies the hamlet of SUTTON SCOTNEY. Of the part which this petition-carrier took in these risings, I shall have to speak by-and-by; but first let us see who and what he was. His parents had, for generations, been labourers; he was born in one of these parishes. He had a brother whose name is ROBERT, who was not married. JOSEPH was married and had one child. They lived in the parish of BULLINGTON with their mother, who had been a widow a good many years, and who found, in the great and skilful labour of her sons, in their rare sobriety, in their great industry and excellent moral character, safe protection from want, from all need of parochial relief, and from all those miseries which are the lot of mothers who have children of a different description. Besides the work which these two young men did for the farmers in the neighbourhood, they rented a piece of ground, consisting of about three acres and a half, which they cultivated mornings and evenings, and at times when they had no other work. They kept a cow, fatted a pig or two, and therefore as there was but one child in the family they were a great deal better off than the labourers in general. Therefore it was not mere hunger that induced them to take a part in the risings. They were induced, even if voluntary, to do it from a sense of duty towards their poorer and more unfortunate neighbours. The object of the risings was, not to commit acts of violence on anybody, and no act of violence were committed; not for the purpose of committing acts of plunder, for no acts of plunder took place: but, solely for the purpose of obtaining a sufficiency of food and of raiment, and of fuel to make life bearable to those, whose labour produced all the food, all the raiment, and all the fuel. Yet, for taking the mildest and most inoffensive

part in these risings, these two excellent young men were, under the Special Commission which GREY advised the King to give to Vaughan, Parke, Alderson, Wellington, Denman, Sturges Bourne, and Serjeant *Wilde*, condemned to death, and transported for life.

In order to do justice, as far as I am at present able, to all the parties concerned, I will here refer to an account of the trials in Hampshire, as afterwards published by the Curate of the Parish of STOKES CHARITY. I will draw no conclusions myself, and offer no opinions; but will simply state the facts as published in the account of the trials.

JOSEPH MASON, aged 31; ROBERT MASON, aged 22; were first indicted for what they called robbing one Callender, *Sir Thomas Baring's bailiff*. There were six others indicted along with them; there were a thousand persons or more in this rising; but, as far as one can judge from the report of the trial, the whole burden of the inquiry was about the *two Masons*. The jury, however, acquitted them both. In their defence, both of them denied ever having touched any money; and both said, that they were pressed by the rest of the people, and compelled to go with them; and there was no evidence brought to shew that this was not true. Having escaped here, they were almost instantly clapped into another indictment; and, the next day were put upon their trial for robbing W. DOWDEN. Here JOSEPH was caught; but ROBERT escaped. On the same day, however, he was clapped into another indictment, when the *Reverend JAMES JOLLIFFE*, curate of BARTON STACEY, swore, that he was *robbed of five shillings*, and that ROBERT MASON was one of the robbers. This parson swore that he gave the five shillings out of fear. ROBERT MASON said, in his defence, that he had not taken the money, nor participated in it; that he had been compelled to go along with the rest; and "that if the lawyer who had said so much against him had been in the road, with a smock-frock on instead of that gown, and a straw hat instead of that wig, he would now be standing at

"the bar as he was; that an honest man he had always been; an honest man he still was, and an honest man he would ever remain."

Mr. WM. WICKHAM and Mr. JAMES WICKHAM, the two principal landowners in the neighbourhood, gave him, as they before had given his brother, the best of characters. Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS did the same; the jury most strongly recommended him to mercy; but, like his brother, he was condemned to death, and transported for life. Always when these MASONS were tried, up came the story about the *Brighton petition*. When Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS was examined, they asked him about the *meetings* at SUTTON SCOTNEY; and WILDE asked whether they did not meet once a week to read a *certain weekly publication*. The infamous *Times* newspaper, which from first to last sought the blood of these people, represented Mr. DIDDAMS as having said that the *sovereign* people sent a petition to the King, and that *sovereign* people subscribed seventeen shillings to carry the man to Brighton. The same bloody newspaper endeavoured to make the public believe that the riots in Hampshire had been instigated by me. It constantly connected my name with these transactions; and when men were going to be hanged, it was observed, that they "*did not confess their connexion with Cobbett and Carlile*." Mr. DIDDAMS and others were very closely questioned about the *certain weekly publication* read by the MASONS to a company of labourers at SUTTON SCOTNEY. I know that there was a regular canvass amongst the prisoners in the jail at Winchester, to find out whether any one would acknowledge that he was acquainted with me, or had been influenced or instigated by me. I know, that this canvass was carried on by a church-parson: and I know, that that parson has since got a good fat church-living, with regard to which, God willing, as well as with regard to other church-livings, I shall have, not to say something, but to do something one of these days. Just at the same time the curate of *Crowhurst* was at work, upon the soul of a poor fellow, who had

set five fires with his own hand, and who, by confessing against me, saved his life; though HENRY COOKE, of MICHELDEVER, was *hanged* for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him *any harm at all*. The conspiracy was at that time going on against me; from the effects of which conspiracy I was, in a great measure, preserved by the excellent conduct of the people of BATTLE and the neighbourhood, whose goodness I never shall forget, and amongst whom I should have spent the day devoted to the reform festival, had not the labourers of Hampshire suffered so much more, and had not the remains of HENRY COOKE lain buried near to the spot whereon we shall keep the festival.

The profligate and bloody people, who conduct *The Times* newspaper, were, at the time I am speaking of, everlastingly engaged in efforts to prepare the public mind for my destruction. I had no means of counteracting their efforts; and innumerable persons really believed that I was at the bottom of all those affairs which were called "*riots*;" but which I have never called riots, and never will. The truth is, however, that I was an utter stranger to the neighbourhood of SUTTON SCOTNEY, which I had never even passed through but twice in my life. And as to the MASONS, or any other person living in any of those parishes, I had never known and never heard of any one of them in my life. Judge of the imbecility as well as the malignity of the beasts, who could expect to find *letters from me in the cottage of the Masons!* Here then, I leave this matter *for the present*; but it is only for the present; for if it shall please God to spare my life, and vouchsafe to me the use of my senses; and if the people at MANCHESTER, or any other place, shall think fit to put me into Parliament, I pledge myself that this is not the last that shall be heard of JOSEPH and ROBERT MASON, and of HENRY COOKE.

Such is the history of the bearer of the petition to Brighton. I have heard a great deal about the conduct of several parties, who had a hand in this transaction, and who have hugged themselves

in the thought of never hearing of it again. I am not in a situation at present to bring this matter forward, with *proper effect*; but, unless some very large improvement upon BARING's Bill should shut me out of a situation in which I should be able to do it, these parties, who now hug themselves in the thought of their security, shall find that the sending of the Brighton petitioner across the seas, does not preclude an inquiry into the cause of that sending.

For the present, however, this is what I shall do with regard to the Reform-festival. I shall give a dinner at SUTTON SCOTNEY, to all the hundred and seventy-seven men, who have not been transported, and who signed the above petition. When I was at Nottingham, I purchased a ham that weighed *seventy-two* pounds, which I have had properly cured. This ham with two or three fat sheep, which I will have killed, shall be the meat for our dinner. I will have bread baked for the occasion; and I will have half a gallon of good strong beer for each man; Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, whose name stands at the head of the petitioners, shall be our chairman; and we will drink to the health and speedy return of Joseph and Robert MASON; and we will say and do all those other things which, on such an occasion, will be most meet.

The guttlers and guzzlers, who have made a "*reform*," in PORTSOKEW Ward, may appoint what day they please for the swallowing of our earnings. My Reform-festival I will hold on *Saturday, the 7th of July*, that being the anniversary of the day in which I defeated the liberal prosecution of the Whigs, and on account of which defeat the people of these villages expressed so much joy. I invite all my personal friends, who live within a reasonable distance of the spot, to meet me, and dine with me at SUTTON SCOTNEY on that day, and particularly friends from WINCHESTER. I invite, also, all the *farmers* in the neighbourhood, whether I personally know them or not; and I will take that opportunity of giving them my opinion about the ensuing elections. I shall provide for *my* guests,

the petitioners for parliamentary reform, whose petition JOSEPH MASON took to the "King's most excellent Majesty" at Brighton. But, as the labourers assembled will be more numerous than my company, perhaps the farmers in the neighbourhood may send a sheep or two, and a bushel or two of flour to be baked into bread. We must have *tents*, or something of that sort. I shall send, or go down, beforehand, to cause due preparations to be made. If any one in the county wish to contribute anything towards the entertainment of the labourers on that day, he can communicate with Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, of SUTTON SCOTNEY, who is a very intelligent and trustworthy man.

I intend to send this notification into every part of the county; and all my friends in the county, who can afford to travel to a distance, will confer a personal favour upon me, by meeting me at the place, and on the day appointed. I shall be very happy to see all the farmers of the neighbourhood present: I am very desirous to lay before them my view with regard to the tithes; and I am still more desirous of seeing farmers and labourers meet together in harmony, and to testify towards each other feelings of hearty good-will. I should now proceed to point out to the electors certain things which they ought to do at the ensuing elections; but this is the first of a series of addresses to them; and I must not make these addresses too long. I hear, that some gentlemen in London (not the borough-monger corporation) are about to meet, and to issue their advice to all the electors of the kingdom relative to the pledges which they ought to demand, and relative to the sort of men that ought to be chosen. I, therefore, as well as for want of room, put off till next week what I have to say about particular men; but, in the mean while let me advise the electors everywhere, not to listen for a single moment to any man who will not at once pledge himself to the abolition of tithes; to the repeal of the malt-tax, the hop-tax, and the soap-tax; to the repeal of the corn-laws, to the repeal of the stamp-laws and the assessed taxes;

and to the repeal of the shameful Septennial Act. I advise them not to listen a moment to any man who will not pledge himself to these; nor to any man who is, in any way whatever, a receiver of taxes, or the father or the son of a receiver of taxes. I told the people in Hampshire, at the county meeting, in October last, that Sir JAMES MACDONALD was "*pleading for a thumping place!*" and he has *got the thumping place!* But he was a greedy eater of the taxes before; and therefore, none but fools have been deceived by him. I trust, that the people of PORTSEA, the people of WINCHESTER, the people of the whole county, will take care what they are at with LOAN-MONGERS. Let them take care of these, above all things; for these are the most dangerous of all possible creatures: they have jaws more grinding than those of death, and a maw more devouring than hell itself.

WM. COBBETT.

NOTICE.

Mr. O'CONNELL will meet the reformers of London, at twelve o'clock on Saturday, the 16th instant, at the Institution of the Working Classes Theobald's-road, Red Lion Square, to lay before them the wrongs of Ireland, as contemplated in Mr. Stanley's Reform Bill; to appeal to their *justice*, and to implore their aid on the subject.

This is just what I wanted to see. We want Mr. O'Connell to come and plead the cause of his country *to us*; and not to those who will not attend to him.

This is a matter of a vast deal more importance than any other that is now before the nation, and I do hope that we shall take it up with as much earnestness as if it were a private concern of every individual man of us. We see both the factions united cordially to do that to Ireland which they have not dared to attempt to do to England. Had the Irish members acted only *coolly* with regard to our bill, we never should have had that bill. It becomes us, therefore, now to assist Ireland to the utmost of

our power. The labours of Mr. O'CONNELL, in this case, have been Herculean indeed. The saucy and empty STANLEY seems to wonder why the Irish people should so cling to him. They would, indeed, be monsters of ingratitude if they did not. The mass of wrongs which this hated STANLEY has now prepared for infliction upon Ireland, is sufficient to drive the most patient people in the world to acts of rebellion. The clear and flagrant distinction which the two bills exhibit, marks out the Irish as an inferior and degraded people; and it is clearly intended to give the boroughmongers a monopoly of power and emolument in that country; it is clearly intended to perpetuate that abominable, cruel, and insolent church-ascendancy, which has been the ruin of Ireland for two centuries, and which has contributed most largely to the beggaring of England and Scotland. Let us go and hear, from the lips of Mr. O'Connell himself, a description of the new wrongs which, *Stanley and Croker united*, have now prepared for Ireland. Pray, reader, mark, that, in this act, the Government are supported by those who threw out the Reform Bill *once*, and would have thrown it out twice, if it had not been for the people. We triumphed for ourselves. Let us now assist the Irish to triumph, without the generous assistance of whose members, observe, *our bill never could have been carried*. Will the united crews of aldermen and common-councilmen, who are making rotten-boroughs of the wards of the city; will they stir upon this occasion? Not they indeed. But the Livery, of whom they make slaves to a very great extent, ought to bestir themselves. The guttlers and guzzlers hate *Common-Halls*; and for a very good reason; but a Common Hall ought to be assembled immediately; and Mr. O'Connell, *who is a Liveryman of London* observe, ought to go to the Common Hall: and, in that centre of the metropolis of England, lay the case of his injured country before us. At any rate, let us go and hear him to-morrow, at the place and time mentioned above.

DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS.

Bolt-court, 15. June, 1832.

THE following petition from the National Union of the Working Classes in London, is, as I hear, to be presented to BARING'S HOUSE to-night. That is right. If it *will* sit, it ought to have *something given it to do*.

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the National Union of the Working Classes and others,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That, when the Reform Bill was first brought into your honourable House, it was expressly stated by the member who brought it in, and the statement was assented to by the House, that the question, as to the *future duration* of parliaments, was reserved in order to be discussed after the said bill should be passed; that, this being a matter of very great importance in the eyes of your petitioners, they inform your honourable House, that they have discovered no intention in any of your honourable members to bring forward this vital question for discussion.

That your petitioners think it right to remind your honourable House, that, in the BILL OF RIGHTS, enacted at the epoch which is termed the "glorious revolution," it is declared, that "frequent parliaments ought to be held," that, in the sixth year of William the Third, chapter 2, it is declared, that, "by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom, frequent parliaments ought to be held, and that frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement of king and people;" that, upon this ground, the said act proceeded to provide, that, for ever thereafter, no parliament should have duration for any longer time than that of three years.

That, however, notwithstanding this declaration and enactment, this solemn compact with the people of this kingdom, notwithstanding these, in the very

first year of the reign of the first king of the House of Hanover, the parliament which had been assembled under this solemn compact, the parliament which had been chosen to sit for three years, were guilty of a daring violation of the compact, enacted that they would continue to sit for four years longer, and enacted that all future parliaments should sit for seven years.

That your petitioners regard this last-mentioned act as the most copious source of all the wrongs which this nation has endured from that day to this; that from it sprang those rare specimens of infamy commonly called rotten boroughs, together with all those enormous burdens, and all those curtailments of English liberty, which have finally transformed a land of freedom and of happiness into a land of toiling slaves.

That the pretences, under which this solemn compact was thus audaciously broken, were, first, that frequent elections caused vast and unnecessary expense; and, second, that they gave scope to the workings of a Popish faction to do injury to the Protestant religion; that these pretences were as false as the hearts of the perfidious tyrants by whom they were put forward; but that, at any rate, no such pretences can now be urged by your honourable House, seeing that the Reform Bill, which has just been passed, has, in part, been passed for the express purpose of diminishing the expense of elections, and seeing, that, by the recent Catholic Bill, your honourable House has truly declared, and has enacted, that in all cases, and for all purposes whatsoever, Catholics are as worthy of trust as Protestants.

That therefore your petitioners, fully agreeing in the declaration contained in the act aforesaid, of the sixth year of William the Third, that "by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom, frequent parliaments ought to be held, and that frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement of the king and the people," beseech your honourable House to be pleased to

repeal the said act of the first year of George the First, commonly called the Septennial Act, and to reduce the duration of parliaments to one year.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Well, if BARING will have *further reforms* let us have *all at once*! As to this matter, however, it was to be discussed and settled *right away*. It was a thing merely deferred till after the Reform Bill should be passed; merely put off for more convenient discussion. Therefore it was matter of surprise that nobody ever thought of taking the question up. The people seemed content to leave it for a reformed Parliament to discuss; but, since BARING will go on with his further reforms, let him, in God's name, go on with this.

I trust, in short, that we shall have no chaffering about this matter; but that a *bill will be brought in at once*, and be passed pretty nearly as quickly as SIDMOUTH, CASTLEREAGH, CROKER, RYDER, and Co., passed the bill in 1817, for *gagging* the REFORMERS or *shutting them up in dungeons*! They can work pretty fast when they have a mind to it. To repeal the Septennial Act is not the work of an hour. I would draw up the bill for a pot of beer, and think myself richly paid. A couple of WHEREASES reciting the substance of the Triennial and Septennial Bills, and just about three lines of enactment, would do the thing completely, and in a style so regular as to make a special pleader burst his very soul with envy. I should like to have the bringing in of this bill; but for decency's sake, I hope I shall be spared the trouble; and I can tell BARING's house one thing; and that is, that if they are a mind to sit there much longer without bringing in and passing such a bill as this, they would do well to get something to stuff their ears with, and to cram it in pretty tightly.

RICARDO.

FOLKS will exclaim, "What the devil are you going to rake that fellow up for?" Not for *his* sake, but for the benefit of the vagabonds who have still the impudence to cite him as "AN ORACLE," as that empty fellow, BROUGHAM, called him in 1819. This RICARDO, when PEEL'S-BILL PEEL had his *destroying bill* before the House, said, "This question" (of returning to cash payments) "is one of immense importance in principle, but in the manner of bringing it about is trivial, and not deserving half an hour's consideration of the House. The difficulty is only that of raising the currency three per cent. in value. A most fearful and destructive depreciation had at one time taken place, but from that we have recovered, and he was happy to reflect that we had so far retraced our steps. We had nearly got home, and he hoped his right honourable Friend (Peel) would lend him his assistance to enable them to reach it in safety. He would venture to state that, in a very few weeks, all alarm would be forgotten, and at the end of the year we should all be surprised that any alarm had ever prevailed at a prospect of a variation of three per cent. in the value of the circulating medium." So; this question, the bill relating to which has caused more ruin and misery than ever were before produced by any hundred measures in any country in the world; this question, which has been agitating this whole kingdom and its colonies from 1819 until the present day; this question, which still agitates the country, and shakes it to its very centre, and is at this very moment the subject of discussion with a committee of the House of Commons, the result of which discussion men are looking to with the anxiety with which affectionate children flock round the physician to know his decision respecting the state of a beloved parent; this question, in short, which every one now sees, involves that of the existence of the Government itself; THIS QUESTION, the dogmatical and

underhanded dog said, was "not deserving half an hour's consideration of the House!" And yet BROUGHAM, and others like him, still hold this fellow up as an *authority*! They do it as they have done many other things, for the sole purpose of *contradicting me*! Verily I say unto them: Stupid and malignant and greedy wretches, you will now, speedily, have your reward!

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

THIS same dogmatical dunderheaded devil, who "got half a million," Dr. BLACK told us, "by merely watching the turn of the market," said, upon another occasion, "No scheme for the amendment of the poor-laws merits the least attention, which has not THEIR ABOLITION for its ultimate object." This, then, is, I suppose, the "ultimate object" of BROUGHAM'S and GREY'S present "POOR-LAW COMMISSION," with STURGES BOURNE at its head, and a parcel of Scotch feelosofers at its tail and in its middle! And do these fellows think that we shall let them keep those parcels of our money, which will be given to them under this pretence! That is the question for them to put to themselves. A reformed Parliament will dismiss them pretty quickly: but do they think that it will let them keep any of our money received by them on this account? That is the question that they ought to discuss. I know that they can do nothing to the poor-laws: the chopsticks will take care of that: but do they think that they are to pocket our money on this account? We shall see how this will be! There are, I think, seven of them; and it has been the invariable practice for the Government to give twelve hundred pounds a year to each of the fellows employed upon such jobs. So that here there would be eight thousand four hundred pounds a year for these fellows; and this we should have to pay merely for the purpose of screening, of hiding, the presumption of BROUGHAM, who had the egregious

folly to *pledge himself to bring in a poor-law bill!* I told him, when he made the pledge, that he would never dare to bring it in. Now he pretends, that *previous inquiry* is necessary; and thus the industrious people of this country, and even the poor themselves, are to give thousands upon thousands of their earnings to this bunch of hangers on, in order to disguise the real state of the matter with regard to this man's capacity for bringing in a bill. NASSAU SEIGNOR, COULSTON the *reporter*, and the rest of the bunch, are pretty fellows for pointing out what is to be done with regard to the claims of millions upon all the real property in England and Wales. My God! How soon will a reformed Parliament sweep away all this rubbish: or, how soon will such a Parliament be swept away itself? How soon, oh God! will NASSAU SEIGNOR, and COULSTON the *reporter*, be crying water-cresses through the streets, or engaged in some other laudable and useful concern?

BARCLAY'S BREWERY.

My readers have heard, perhaps, that this affair was *burnt down the other day*. I see that the impudent parties have advertised, "that the public need not be uneasy; for that their STOCK was not consumed!" No: the devil is in it if it was; for we should be in an alarming state, indeed, if *water* would burn. That is the principal part of their *stock*, I believe. The public need not be at all uneasy; for, as long as there are horse-ponds with a good black run from a yard, there will be no want of a "*beverage*" a pretty deal more wholesome than the stuff called London porter.

PLEDGES.

THERE wants to be something done to produce *uniformity* in this respect. There wants a set of pledges to be tendered to those who offer themselves as candidates; and this, in order to make a *general throughout the country*, should be begun by the people of this great

city: not by that couple of bunches of the oppressors of PORTOKEN Ward; not by "CHARLEY" and his lord mayor, but by the people of this city; for it is the people of the city, and not the *livery alone*, who are to elect the members the next time; and we have got four members to choose, whom I am very sure we shall not choose without pledges. The Lord Mayor, "*Charley's*" own lord mayor, as much like one another in all things as if, like STANLEY and CROKER, they seemed to be the produce of the same *ventre*; so much alike, that, for fear of not taking one for the other, it might be necessary to tie a string round the wrist of one of them. "*Charley's*" own lord mayor has put out a bundle of balderdash, which he calls an address to the citizens of London; and we are, it seems, soon to have one, *even from "Charley" himself*. Let us, therefore, get our pledges ready, and tender them to the parties when they apply for our votes. If nobody else will call a public meeting for this purpose, I will in a very short time. There are men in the city who ought to do it, and who are able to do it with effect; and I trust that they will do it without loss of time; *for there is no time to lose*.

COUNTY OF SURREY.

I CARE a great deal about the conduct of all the counties at the ensuing election; but I cannot help feeling particular anxiety about that of the county of Surrey, and more especially the western division of that county, in which my little feet first met the earth. In my next *Register* I shall offer my advice to the *counties* as well as to the *boroughs*. If necessary I shall think it my duty to go and hold meetings in the several towns in the county of Surrey; and, in the mean while, let me express my hopes that the county in which I was born will not disgrace itself by choosing a fool, or an arrogant tyrant, merely because he has land or money; let me hope that it will choose no man who will not pledge himself to the abolition of tithes, to the repeal of the malt, hop, and soap-tax, and then to a repeal of all

the stamp taxes and the assessed taxes ; and then the Corn Bill may be repealed, even to the great advantage of the farmer. I have heard that Colonel WOODROFFE intends to offer himself for the western part of the county. He is a man that must have great experience, and may be very fit, provided he receives nothing out of the taxes ; for that man who would give his vote to any one, be he who he may, who receives anything out of the taxes, that man ought at once to be hung up upon the most extended limb of the highest tree in the county, there to be food for kites and carrion crows. Such a man is a base betrayer of his trust, is a vile traitor to every man who has not a vote, and he deserves every species of punishment that his poorer and oppressed neighbours can inflict upon him.

POLITICAL UNIONS.

THESE bodies will soon be distinguished into Government Unions and PEOPLE'S UNIONS. The Government will soon have its creatures to lead some of them ; and care should be taken to denounce these creatures as soon as they are perceived. The *Globe*, as it is called by its owners, and the ball of horse-dung as I call it, which is conducted by brazen, broad-faced, lying TORRENS, who accused me of being the cause of the fires in the country, and who expressed his sorrow that COCKEY DENMAN had not been able to get a verdict against me : this round lump of filth, which revolves about the Government as a sort of conservator of its rotten reputation, observed, the other night, that the "Unions in Scotland" will dissolve themselves, now that the "Reform bill is passed." Oh, to be sure ! They will not meddle with the Irish Reform Bill ! They will not attempt to meddle with the subject of *Triennial Parliaments* ! This is a pretty hint : a hint as broad as TORRENS'S face : a little too broad. But my readers may be well assured, that this is a trick which we shall very soon see played off. STANLEY and CROKER, the Gemini of the political Zodiac (for,

poor LORD GREY really seems to be nothing), will very soon prevail upon some of the leaders of the Unions to begin to talk about dissolving themselves ; seeing, that all the purposes for which they were formed are now accomplished ! I am not afraid of the Unions in Scotland, however ; at the reform meeting at BANFF, "*Cobbett's Gridiron*" (dreadful sight to loan-mongers !) was carried, the other day, as one of the ensigns at the reform meeting ! At GLASGOW, a meeting is advertised "To appoint a committee to correspond with Mr. Cobbett on the subject of his return to Parliament ;" a circumstance, by the bye, omitted to be noticed by the perspicacious Dr. BLACK, whom by —, I will cashier from his dignity, if I find him so dull-sighted again ; the notification being in a most conspicuous place in the last number of the *Glasgow Chronicle*. From PAISLEY, to which I have always given the surname of sensible, I have not yet heard ; but I beseech the voters there, not to make promises to any body until they shall have read my next *Register*. TORRENS, and his roundabout lump of filth, may be assured, therefore, that the *Scottish Unions* will not be in a hurry to dissolve themselves. The danger from this sort of trick lies nearer home. I won't say where ; but I must say, that I do not like the very slow and cautious movements of a couple of Unions that I could name. In short, according to the old saying, if you will touch the kettle you must have some black ; and if you will come in contact with the Ministry, you must become more or less corrupt.

The following address I very much approve of, it will speak for itself. Mr GRUNDY is just the man for a member of parliament, and I have too good an opinion of the people of BURY to believe that they will not choose him.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE
BOROUGH OF BURY.

A requisition from a number of the electors of Bury having been presented to Mr. EDMUND GRUNDY, of Park-hills, requesting him to allow himself to be put in nomination as a candidate for this borough, the following answer has been received:

GENTLEMEN,—I should be unworthy of your notice, and display a great want of respectful feeling, did I not state to you how sensibly I am impressed with your kindness and good opinion, in requesting me to allow my name to be put in nomination at the ensuing election, as a candidate for the representation of the borough of Bury. I value less the intended honour, than the assurance of your approval of my political principles,—principles I have held and fearlessly avowed for a quarter of a century, in times of political peril, as well as in the *sunshine and the fashionable days of reform*. I have no wish, nor any pretensions or ambition, to be a member of Parliament. My habits are very domestic; my own fire-side and the society of my family are to me the greatest sources of happiness. My engagements in life forbid my entertaining any such idea. The expenses attendant on being sent to Parliament, in addition to the necessary expense of a large family, would be such as my very limited pecuniary means would scarcely warrant.

These are my views and feelings on the subject of your request, but understanding that the inhabitants of the borough of Bury are very much disappointed, and in my judgment very properly so, with what are called the *pledges of Mr. Richard Walker*, and being wishful that they should have an opportunity of recording their votes and opinions on the great questions before the public, if you, and a majority of the electors, are wishful to send to Parliament a man of my well-known principles, and if you can find none in your opinion more fit, I will not object to being put in nomination, and will, if elected, faithfully, and to the best of my ability,

discharge the duties imposed on me by your choice.

Although my principles are well known, it is right I should give *specific pledges* as to the great measures which, as your representative, I would support.

I would vote and protest against any further payment of public money to sinecurists, useless placemen, and pensioners.

I would vote for the repeal of all taxes bearing especially on the poor, and I would protest against the imposition of any property-tax, or other tax, for the purpose of keeping up the present amount of revenue; being convinced that the grinding load of taxation is the great source of our distress. I am also an advocate for shortening the hours of labour in all our manufactories.

A sufficient weight of taxation having been removed to enable the farmer and farm-labourer to live comfortably without the protection of the Corn Laws, I would vote, not for a *revision* but a total *repeal* of those obnoxious laws.

I would vote and protest against every monopoly in Government, church, and commerce; maintaining the principle that all good citizens have a right to the enjoyment of every privilege in the state.

I would vote for a repeal of the law of primogeniture.

I would vote against the maintaining of a large standing army in the time of peace—supporting at the same time such measures as would endear the Government to the people; ruling through their affections, and not by the sword.

I would vote for the repeal of all laws infringing on the civil and religious liberty of the people; and I would use my utmost endeavours to secure the beneficial measures I have mentioned, not only to England and Scotland, but to Ireland. Oppressed, insulted, wretched Ireland should have my best endeavours to procure for her all the advantages that I would aim at for England.

I am a decided advocate of *universal suffrage*, but would vote for *household suffrage*, if more easily attainable. I

would also vote for *short parliaments*, and the *vote by ballot*, deeming the latter essential to the prevention of bribery and corruption at elections.

I shall take an *early* opportunity of meeting the inhabitants of *Bury*, and stating my views at greater length.

I am, gentlemen,

Your very obliged and obedient servant,

EDMUND GRUNDY.

Park-hills, June 11th, 1832.

TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL.

Oh, oh! I told my readers that they would be at work to pass a *series of bills*, for the purpose of defeating the effects of the Reform Bill. They are at it: busy as bees in a tar-barrel. Now, then, we shall see whether the *National Political Union* be the property of *Charing Cross Place* and *Hobhouse*, or whether they speak the voice of any part of the people. We shall now see what that stanch advocate of *morality*, Major *Revel* will do; and "*Nuncky*," *Wakefield*, and *Erskine Perry*, and that famously *Reverend* reformer, who thought it improper to oppose the bill of the amiable loanmonger *Baring*. But, "peace to all such." **WHAT WILL THE BIRMINGHAM UNION DO!** But, stop. I must first insert the proceedings in the House of Lords, which developes a project for, in great part, *annulling the Reform Bill!* Pray, reader, first read this debate. It is very short. Do mark the thing well. Mark the *absence of Ministers*. But, read for God's sake, every word of it.

BILL FOR RENDERING UNNECESSARY THE VACATING OF SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY MEMBERS ON THEIR APPOINTMENT TO CERTAIN MINISTERIAL OFFICES.

The Marquis of *Northampton* moved the second reading of the Bill for repealing so much of the Act of Settlement passed in the reign of Queen Anne, as rendered it necessary for members of the House of Commons to vacate their seats on being appointed to certain ministerial offices under the Crown. This measure was intimately

connected with the great measure of reform which had lately become the law of the land. This measure was certainly one of very considerable importance, and he felt the weight of the consideration, that it, to a certain extent, interfered with the Act of Settlement. But he thought that such a measure as this became highly expedient since the settlement of the great question of reform, and he was happy that that question had been settled by the Government which had brought in the measure. It was certainly much better that the question should have been settled by the authors of the Reform Bill, who deemed the measure expedient and necessary, than by others who were adverse to it. At the same time, he intended to propose some amendments in the Reform Bill, and this was one of them; and he had been induced to postpone it only on the understanding that it would be carried into effect by a specific bill. The arguments which had been urged in support of the expediency of members vacating their seats on their appointment to office, appeared to him to have very little weight, and then the inconvenience was often very great. When a member of the other House of Parliament was appointed to a high ministerial office, he must often be in some degree ignorant of the details of the office, and it might be of very great importance that he should not be prevented, by attending a distant election, from directing his immediate attention to these details. This inconvenience was often great, even in the event of the appointment of an individual to office, but the inconvenience must be greatly increased on the change of an entire administration. Then it might often happen that matters of the very highest importance might require immediate attention at the very moment when, by vacating his seat and attending to his re-election, the newly-elected Minister could not attend to these matters. Suppose, for instance, that business of the utmost importance, in respect of the foreign relations of the country, were depending

at the time of the appointment of a new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—suppose that matters of the greatest importance in relation to our colonial affairs were depending at the time of the appointment of a new Colonial Secretary; and suppose that the Home Secretary were changed at a moment of great excitement, such as took place about three weeks ago—in all these cases it was obvious that the necessity for vacating their seats, and having themselves re-elected, must be attended not merely with inconvenience, but with serious danger. This necessity might also interfere with the free choice of the Crown, since some Members of the House of Commons, the most fit for office, might be induced to decline accepting office on account of the necessity for vacating their seats. The inconvenience to the public might also be very great—more particularly at a period of dangerous excitement. Suppose a new administration were appointed, and that they should not be able to keep their seats for a week after the re-election of those of the House of Commons which formed part, then another administration must be appointed, and another vacating of seats and re-election must take place. In this manner delay after delay would take place, and the business of the Government might be suspended for weeks, even when an important measure like the Reform Bill was depending. Such were the mischief and inconvenience of the present system, and that mischief and inconvenience would be greatly increased under the operation of the Reform Bill. As to the arguments against this alteration, it had been said that this was a great constitutional provision, and that it ought not to be infringed. But a great change in the constitution had been already made. Then it was said that it was important that members of the House of Commons should be returned to their constituents on taking office, because they became less independent. In his opinion they not only did not become less independent, but they became more independent, for instead of followers of parties, they be-

came leaders. Besides, when the members were originally elected, the electors must be pretty well aware whether their chosen representative was likely to take a prominent part in the public councils. Then it was said that vacating and re-election was a good test and criterion of popularity. But the criterion was absurd and fallacious, for popularity and unpopularity with a particular set of electors was no criterion of general popularity. This was already manifested in the case of the President of the Board of Trade, and several other cases which happened in the course of the last election. That could never be a good criterion which so often led to erroneous conclusions. The bill was meant to apply to certain great offices of state, and to the principal law offices, all which were set out in the bill. There was another office—that of the secretary at war (or the secretary for Ireland), which had not been included in the bill, but which might be inserted in it in case it should be deemed expedient.

The Duke of WELLINGTON admitted that it became necessary to adopt some measure of this kind in consequence of the passing of the Reform Bill. But this was not the only measure that must be adopted, and it went only half way towards effecting its own object. There were a variety of points in reference to which new measures must be adopted in consequence of the passing of the Reform Bill, but then they ought to be proposed as measures of Government instead of being brought forward by individuals. The necessity for such measures arose from the passing of the Reform Bill, and therefore they ought to be introduced by the proposers of that measure, who ought to be responsible for them. He admitted that the noble Marquis was right in his statement of the inconvenience that attended the present system; but then they ought to proceed with caution and considerable deliberation before they altered it; more especially when the alteration was proposed to them by an individual unconnected with the Government; and it ought also to be considered, that this bill went to repeal part of the Act of

Settlement. He really thought that the noble Marquis ought not to have proposed the second reading of this bill at a time when the Minister was not in the House, and he hoped that he would still consent to postpone the second reading till there should be a full House, unless he should think proper to abandon it altogether, and leave it to the Government, which was responsible for the consequences of the Reform Bill. He admitted that the measures were necessary in this and many other points, in consequence of the passing of the Reform Bill; but they ought to be left to the Government.

The Earl of RADNOR did not see the force of the noble Duke's argument, as to leaving this measure to the Government, and as to the impropriety of proposing the second reading in the absence of the Minister. But he agreed with the noble Duke in the expediency of postponing it; and, for his part, he thought it would be better to withdraw the bill altogether for the present. No great inconvenience had as yet been felt from the present system, and it might be better to wait till inconvenience should arise before they proceeded to apply remedies. Sufficient for the day was the evil thereof. He admitted that this was a measure of great importance, as interfering with the Act of Settlement, and, therefore, it ought to be narrowly and maturely considered. He hoped the noble Marquess would consent to postpone the second reading, if he did not postpone it altogether. No great inconvenience had as yet resulted from the present system; and as to the instances referred to by the noble Marquess, these had occurred at a general election, to which the present measure had no application.

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: This topic had undergone considerable discussion in the committee on the Reform Bill, while the noble Duke was absent, and it appeared to be the general opinion on both sides that it was expedient some such measure as the present ought to be adopted. It had been suggested in the committee by the noble Marquess, and he must do him the justice to say

that several noble Lords had expressed an opinion that a remedy should be applied, although not as a part of the Reform Bill, but by a separate bill. He at present gave no opinion on the subject, but certainly this was a matter of considerable delicacy and importance, as being connected with a great constitutional question. The inconvenience of the present system, however, appeared to him to be considerable, and therefore they would have to balance between the advantage of altering the system and the danger of interfering with a great constitutional enactment. In the mean time he thought that it would be expedient to postpone the second reading.

The Marquess of NORTHAMPTON said, that the case of the election for Preston supported the view which he had taken. As to the inconvenience of the time and form in which he had brought forward the present proposition, he explained that he did himself think that it might have been more conveniently made part of the Reform Bill, into which he had intended to move the introduction of a clause to the same effect as the bill before their Lordships. But in consequence of indisposition he had been unable to give timely notice of that intention; and therefore, yielding to suggestions from both sides of the House, he determined to bring forward his proposition in a separate bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR must acknowledge that nothing could be more fair or candid than the course which the noble Marquess had followed. At the same time he could not help thinking that, although the principle of the bill might conveniently enough be discussed at a future stage, and although the object of the noble Marquess at present was only to advance the bill a step further, leaving the discussion open for the committee, yet he thought that it would be the better course, in the present state of the House, there being so few of their Lordships present, to postpone the second reading to a future day. The object of the statute of Anne, which it was the wish of the noble Marquess to repeal, was to secure that the persons whom, being Members of the other

Houses of Parliament, the Crown should choose for its servants or responsible advisers, should be such that, on going again for the suffrages of their constituents, they would be found to retain their confidence. Now he (the Lord Chancellor) must confess, that he had *not been able to give the subject so much consideration that he could have formed a distinct opinion as to the expediency or the inconvenience of that statute.* He should hope, therefore, that the noble Marquess would consent to postpone his motion until after the next week, as a great part of the intermediate time would most probably be occupied by the discussion of the Irish Reform Bill.

The Marquess of NORTHAMPTON said that it was not his fault that so many Members of their Lordships' House considered the bill of so little importance that they did not attend to discuss it. He had given sufficient notice that it was his intention to bring on the discussion that evening. However, in accordance with the suggestion of the noble Lord upon the woolsack, he would move that the second reading of the bill be postponed to Monday week.

The motion having been agreed to, the House adjourned at half past seven o'clock.

Do, for God's sake, observe, how BROUGHAM looks at it *askance*! Did you never see a dog, that had been whipped for fowl-killing, look sideways at the poultry in the presence of his master! He would fain have a snap; but, he is looking towards *Bolt-Court* with t'other eye. Well, as I said once before, when I and my brothers were little children, and used to run about the house, tearing at our mother's gown or apron in order to worry her into giving of us apples or something or other, she used, when we had tired out her most exemplary patience, to exclaim, "Be quiet, you plagues of Egypt, do!" Little did she think of what her poor son William was destined to undergo; what worse than the seven plagues of Egypt he would have to endure! Here am I, actually tied by the leg, watching these divers sets of reformers; here I

have been, in this stifled-up, stinking place, in all this fine weather, ever since the 1st of April; and here it seems I am destined to remain. It is got to be now worse than ever. I used to be able to leave them for a week. I want to go down to GODALMING now; and I can't. It will soon come to that pass, that I shall not dare to go to KENSINGTON. I shall be like the fellow that got his finger in the tap-hole of the barrel, and who was obliged to sit there, because he could not take it out; could not trust a spicket or cock, lest his wife should come and take more than would "do her good." I shall be like the Quaker in Long Island, during the rebel-war, who had two maiden sisters, and one of the three sat upon the money-chest, day and night, for seven years, during the time that there was a British soldier upon the island. This Quaker, whose name was HICKS, acknowledged to me that the story was true, saying, "D'ye see, friend Cobbett, I liked "uncle George's people very well; but "they couldn't keep their hands off "dollars." Pretty much the same it is with the Lords and the loanmongers, who find it extremely difficult to keep their hands off our Reform Bill. However, *the people are ready for them*: the people have not been gaping like *Martin Marall*. The rotten wardmongers of London do not seem to have perceived the anti-reform bill was coming on. FRANCIS PLACE's Union do not seem to have perceived it: it seems to have escaped even the all-searching eye of the BIRMINGHAM Union; but it has not escaped the NATIONAL UNION of the Working Classes in London; and that my Lords will see, by the following petition, which was yesterday I believe in the hands of a peer, with a request, that he would present it as soon as possible. Foh! away with the nonsensical stuff about freedoms in an oak-box; about statues, and medals, and buttons, and badges, and symbols! Away with all this stuff, which never yet was otherwise than laughed at by crafty tyrants, to whom nothing is so terrible as plain sense from plain men, of which we have a specimen in the following petition, which petition ought

to put all pretenders to superiority to the blush.

To the right honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the National Union of the Working Classes and others,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That your petitioners, having read in the 73rd clause of the Reform Bill, that "all the laws, statutes, and usages now in force respecting the election of members to serve in Parliament, are to remain in full force, except so far as they are altered or repealed by this act;" having read these words in the Reform Bill recently passed by your right honourable House, it is not without surprise, accompanied with a feeling still more unpleasant, that your petitioners already behold no less than three bills before the two Houses of Parliament, which bills propose to alter or abrogate some of the laws, statutes, and usages now in force, respecting the election of members to serve in Parliament; and that in every instance these said bills have a direct tendency to counteract the beneficial effects of the Reform Bill aforesaid.

That of these bills, the one of the most pernicious tendency, and proposing the most direct attack upon the rights and liberties of the people, is a bill (for the bringing of which into your right honourable House leave has been granted) to prevent the vacating of seats by members appointed to places of profit by, or receiving pensions from, the Crown.

That, in the twelfth and thirteenth of William III., an act was passed, usually called the *Act of Settlement*, because it settled the succession to the crown in a new dynasty, diverting it from the House of Stuart to the House of Brunswick; that, in this act, which is, in fact, the title of the present family to the throne, divers provisions were made, for the purpose (as expressed in the preamble of the act) of "preserving the rights and liberties of the people;" that, amongst these cautionary provisions was the following: "That no per-

son who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons."

That, in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Anne, this solemn compact with the people was broken by a parliament who repealed this protective act; that the scandalous transactions which took place in consequence of this repeal produced, in the sixth year of the reign of Queen Anne, an act, containing a provision, that members accepting of places of profit under the King, or receiving pensions from the crown, should thereupon *vacate their seats*, and be re-elected before they could again sit in the House; that this last-mentioned law, though enfeebled by false and dishonest constructions, is still in force; that it is one of the laws embraced in the aforesaid 73rd clause of the Reform Bill; and, that the bill above-mentioned, to bring which into your right honourable House your petitioners understand that leave has been granted, will, if it become a law, totally abolish all the protection intended to be secured to the people by that act which placed the present family upon the throne; that it will enable the crown to fill the House of Commons with placemen and pensioners, and will make its members the natural enemies instead of the faithful representatives of the people.

That your petitioners shall never think that they have done their duty towards their country and their children, until they have done their utmost to cause the compact between this reigning family and the people to be adhered to, and until they see, accordingly, all placemen and pensioners, and all persons receiving public money under whatsoever name, excluded from the House of Commons, as your petitioners can form an idea of nothing more unjust or more monstrous, then that men should be empowered to impose taxes, a portion of which they themselves are to receive.

That your petitioners would have been, agreeably to the said 73rd clause of the Reform Bill, well content to leave this matter to a reformed Parliament,

but that perceiving that your right honourable House appears to be disposed to proceed in a bit-and-bit manner with regard to these laws, they pray that your right honourable House will be pleased, not only not to pass any bill to prevent the vacating seats as aforesaid, but that you will be pleased to restore to this burdened and suffering people the provisions contained in the Act of Settlement, thereby again shutting out of the House of Commons all pensioners, placemen, and others holding offices of profit, or pensions, such measure being, in the firm conviction of your petitioners, absolutely necessary to rescue them from that ruin and misery under which they have so long groaned, and also to preserve and uphold the just rights and prerogatives and true dignity of the Crown.

That your petitioners have no need to seek authorities in the examples of foreign states, seeing that a reference to our own laws and to the example of our fathers is quite sufficient; but that, if there were found hypocrisy sufficient to affect to see injury or inconvenience in the shutting of placemen and pensioners out of the House of Commons, your petitioners could point out to your right honourable House a country, peopled by the descendants of Englishmen; a country retaining the common law of England, and all the forms of the Government of England; a country surpassing, in the race of prosperity and happiness, all the nations of the world; and your petitioners could state to your right honourable House, that, in that country, the abovesaid provision of the Act of Settlement is in full force; and that no person who is in the receipt of public money, under any name whatsoever, can be a member of either of the houses of the legislature.

Again, therefore, your petitioners most earnestly pray, that your right honourable House will, with as little delay as possible, be pleased to pass an act to repeal the acts aforesaid of the 4th and 6th of Queen Anne, to restore to its full force the act of compact between the House of Brunswick and the people, and thus afford protection to

the people against the votes of those who, now, first impose taxes upon the nation, and then put a portion of them into their own pockets.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

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FOR SALE, OR RATHER TO BE GIVEN AWAY.

By an accident I became possessed of the following French books. I have had them five or six years. They were sent to me in mistake, and I was finally obliged to keep them, in the stead of a parcel of my French Grammars (printed at Paris), in the year 1825. They were the subject of disputed claim for two or three years; "the honourable Board of Customs" made them and the Grammars a subject for a display of their literal and judicial powers! In other words, this crew of Jacks-in-office, who allow a case of the Grammars to be *imported into London*, would not allow a case of the *very same Grammars* to be imported into *Liverpool*! When I moved my shop from Fleet-street into this court, the case of books was *removed*: they had a change of domicile, at any rate. Luckily for those who will have the good fortune to get these books, the case containing them was *large*, and I wanted the *room*! So that, at last, out they have come for sale, or, rather, for making presents; for I have looked for the greater part of the books in the CATALOGUE OF DULAU AND Co. of Soho-square; I have seen the *prices* of the same books in that CATALOGUE; and I have here put against each book *JUST HALF the price specified in the catalogue*. There is but *one copy* of each work; and therefore "*first come first served*." The books are all in excellent order, having never been exposed to dust or to handling. My descriptions of them are perfectly correct. I wish to get these books out of my way, but I will never sell any one of them to anybody for *less* than is here stated.

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as also Towns-end cows, &c., very dull, at barely Friday's quotations. Small stock also met with a very languid sale. Prime South Down sheep and lambs at a depression of 2d.; large coarse-woolled ditto and veal 4d. per stone. In porkers, little or nothing seemed to be doing.

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